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SLAVERY IN BRITISH INDIA.

A SEQUEL to the Report of the Indian Law Commissioners on the subject of slavery in British India, published in 1841, and which was reviewed in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* of that year, (vol. ii. pp. 161—163,) has appeared in a series of "special reports" on that and other subjects, which were ordered to be printed at the close of the last session of Parliament, and which will be found in Parliamentary Papers, No. 585, 1834. From these papers we propose to make such extracts as will enable our readers to understand in what particulars the authorities in India agree, and in what points they differ, in dealing with this important subject.

That slavery exists to an immense extent in British India, admits of no doubt; that it presents itself under different forms of greater or lesser atrocity, is conceded; that it is found in the predial as well as the domestic form, is incontestable; and that the supply of its victims is obtained by methods the most revolting and barbarous, is beyond dispute. So far all the authorities are agreed: but they are not agreed as to the nature of the measures which should be adopted to mitigate the state of slavery, with a view to its ultimate abolition, in accordance with the decision of the British Legislature in 1833. In this discrepancy of opinion we should find cause for despondency, did we not know that the Imperial Parliament can complete what it has begun. The evidence is now before the country in its most unobjectionable form, with all the palliations that can be thrown around it; and the country can judge for itself, whether it ought longer to be tolerated, or whether it should not forthwith cease to exist.

The Law Commissioners differ among themselves as to the measures they should recommend to give effect to the will of the Home Legislature. Messrs. Cameron and Millett suggest a series of enactments, thirty-one in number, to the effect that no freeman shall become a slave; that assaults inflicted on slaves shall be punishable in the same way as if they were free men; that they shall not be sold by public authority for arrears of revenue or rent; that they shall be entitled to emancipation on payment of a reasonable price; that no rights arising out of slavery shall be enforced by a magistrate; that the services of bondsmen shall not be transferrable without their consent, &c., &c. In summing up their suggestions they say:—

"We desire the extinction of slavery in India; indeed, its ultimate extinction may be considered as already decided by the Imperial Legislature. And we believe that if, by taking away the power of punishment, we prevent the possibility of any speculations depending upon slave-labour holding out a prospect of profit, the other motives which hold the master and slave together will become gradually weaker with the general progress of society. * * * We leave the slave, therefore, to the force of custom, of ancient, though, perhaps, never enforced law, and to the kindly feelings of his master, so far as regards the positive privileges which belong to him as a slave. But we bring him within the protection of the British Courts of Justice, as regards those negative rights which he already has, or with which he is now to be invested in common with all other subjects of Great Britain."

Thus speak the minority of the Commissioners; the majority, composed of Messrs. Amos, Elliott, and Borradaile, hold another language; they say:—

"The majority of the Commissioners agree with their colleagues in thinking that the principal evils incident to the condition of slavery in India arise out of illegal acts perpetrated under colour of slavery, and which are neither warranted by law nor by general custom; and they concur in the conclusion that it would be more beneficial for the slaves themselves, as well as a wiser and safer course, to direct immediate attention to the removal of the abuses of slavery, rather than to recommend its sudden and abrupt abolition."

Keeping this idea in view, they are opposed to the withdrawal of the power of punishment to enforce obedience and coerce labour, for the following reason:—

"It appears to the majority of the Commissioners, that without a power of moderate correction for neglect of duty lodged somewhere, slaves employed in field labour, at least, would not work with the like industry as hired labourers, whose bread depends on their giving their employer satisfaction, who know that if they do not perform the task set them for the day, they will not get the hire for the day, and probably will not meet with an engagement for the morrow."

Besides which, the owners of slaves, they say, are not willing to be satisfied with a less degree of industry from their slaves, than they would require from hired servants, many of them having purchased "lands merely for the profitable investment of money, and whose sole object is to raise the largest possible surplus produce." To take, therefore, from them the power of coercion now vested in them by law, would be unjust; hence they say:—

"The majority of the Commissioners consider that a law, taking away all the power of correcting and restraining slaves, would have the effect,

as far as the promulgation of a law could produce it, of abolishing slavery."

"So sweeping a change in the relation of master and slave" as this measure contemplates, they further say, "cannot justly or prudently be taken away by law without providing compensation, or without transferring the power to the magistrate. But neither of those courses appears to them advisable." What, then, do they recommend?

"They propose to leave untouched the lawful *status* of slavery, and with it the lawful power of the master to punish and restrain." To guard, however, against "abusive acts," they concur with their colleagues in recommending "that any slave shall be entitled to emancipation upon the neglect, refusal, or inability of his master to provide him with customary maintenance," and "that any slave who has been treated with cruelty by his master shall be entitled to emancipation;" "that any female slave who has become a common prostitute through the influence of her master shall be entitled to emancipation;" and "that whenever any slave is entitled to emancipation, the wife or husband and the minor children of such slave shall also be entitled to emancipation, provided they are slaves of the same master."

In addition to this, they would give the slaves the power of self-redemption, and would prevent "the sale of free persons into slavery." They add also, that they concur in the recommendation intended to prevent persons of other classes than Hindoos, Mohammedans, and Parsees, "from acquiring slaves, or hiring the services of slaves," inasmuch as "existing interests will not be affected by this measure." Thus it will be seen that whilst these learned gentlemen are extremely tenacious of the rights of the master, and are ever ready with legal subtleties and technical objections when the freedom of the slave is in question, they entirely overlook the multitudes who are in bondage, confessedly contrary to the laws they so much revere. Looking at the great object the Imperial Parliament has in view, the abolition of slavery in British India, one would naturally suppose that the very first thing they would have recommended would have been a strict application of the Mohammedan and Hindoo laws in favour of all persons illegally held in slavery. Would the tenure by which the Parsees, Jews, and Christians of British India hold their slaves bear an investigation? Would that of the Mohammedans, with few exceptions, stand the test of a legal scrutiny? Would not a large body of Hindoo slaveholders even find it difficult to hold theirs in presence of their authoritative expositions of their own law? We tell these gentlemen it was more than unjust, it was cruel, to overlook the fact, long since acknowledged, that there are tens of thousands of human beings held in slavery in British India, who are as much entitled, by existing laws, to their liberty as themselves.

We now come to Lord Auckland's Minute of the 6th May, 1841, grounded on the Reports of the Commissioners, passing by those of His Lordship and the members of Council, recorded in 1839, with the expression of deep regret that the proposed law relative to assaults on slaves, which was peremptorily ordered to be enacted, was laid aside in the exercise of a "due discretion," or rather, we should say, in deference to the opinions of Mr. Amos, who appears, throughout these papers, with the exception of Mr. Prinsep, the most determined enemy of change.

It is unnecessary that we should state His Lordship's arguments in support of his propositions; we give, however, his final decision on the points submitted to him. He says:—

"I am prepared, upon these grounds, and on the evidence and opinions we have now before us, to pass a law declaring that any act which would be an offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to a slave, or, as I would rather say, to any one in any condition of dependence on a master; and I would add to such an act, that (to the effect of the proposal of two of the Law Commissioners) 'no rights claimed as arising out of an alleged state of slavery shall be enforced by a magistrate.' Such an enactment would be entirely in consonance with the doctrine of the Mohammedan lawyers which I have above quoted, as applied to the actual state of those classed as slaves in India. I may briefly say, on the contrary opinion of others of the Commissioners as respects the concession of an authority of moderate correction, that I am satisfied, that with our very imperfect police and remotely scattered magistrates, it would not be safe to commit any power of punishment to masters; and that, in fact, we can have no security against their occasional bad character or excited passions, other than that of withholding from them all power of personal coercion whatever. Compensation for such a formal withdrawal of authority seems to me out of the question, both because compensation could not be given on a ground so little capable of exact estimation, and because the authority, wherever it is exercised, rests upon no valid ground, and has actually ceased to exist in by far the greater number of our districts. I would not (independently of any reference to the Mohammedan law) allow our magistrates to enforce any rights arising out of slavery, because the state of slavery is one not to be presumed against any person summarily, and would require, were it to be

brought for inquiry before a court, the most grave and discriminating consideration."

It will thus be seen that His Lordship would "legislate as little as possible now," to use his own words, and "look forward with anxiety to the period when the Government may be enabled to fulfil the design of the British Legislature, by a declaration of the entire extinction of slavery as a state in any manner recognised by our laws."

The next Minute, in order, is Mr. Bird's, dated the 18th June, 1841. This gentleman, in commenting on the propositions of the Law Commissioners, forcibly remarks:—

"The first of these two plans (that of the minority) involves an inconsistency, which appears to me to preclude its adoption as a legislative measure. It grants a license for dereliction of duty towards the master, without liberating the slave; it injures the one by encouraging idleness and immorality in the other, and is consequently hurtful to both. The second plan (that of the majority) is free from this inconsistency, but it is equally open to the objection of being calculated to impede rather than advance the object in view, by numberless minute and detailed provisions, which would strengthen the obligations arising out of slavery, and prolong the existence of that which in any shape is an evil, and which, if left to itself, would probably die, in course of time, a natural death."

Having thus disposed of the Commissioners, Mr. Bird states his own views:—

"Were we only to take into consideration the character of slavery in this country, and its connexion, especially as regards agrestic servitude, with the distinction of caste, which nothing but the progress of civilization can obliterate, the best plan, I should say, would be to abstain altogether from interference, and leave it to time and the operation of the general principles of our administration to work out its practical abolition. But the evils of which slavery is the cause are so serious, and so prejudicial to the general welfare of the community at large, that we should neglect, I think, no means that hold out any hopes of assisting to put a stop to it. It is one of the principal incentives to kidnapping, child-stealing, the sale and purchase of children, male or female, the murder of parents for the sake of their children, and leads to prostitution in the vilest forms, and all the revolting practices connected therewith. Were the entire extinction of slavery as a state in any way recognised by our laws to be authoritatively declared, much would be done towards diminishing the perpetration of these enormities; such a declaration might, I think, be made without the slightest difficulty, and it would put an end to the inconveniences and embarrassments which are every where felt, from there being no uniform rule on the subject, and from the law being one thing, and the practice of our civil and criminal courts another, in almost every district."

So obvious a remedy for so great an evil as slavery, it might naturally be supposed, would be acknowledged by all; but Mr. Bird felt it to be necessary to add, in order to meet an old argument, that the step he proposed "would create no discontent at either of the Presidencies, where the feelings of the Government and of the local authorities are well understood on the subject." And he adds, with excellent effect:—

"It is proposed, however, to postpone this grand measure until some future period, when it can be carried into effect with greater safety; but when that period is to arrive has not been stated. This is exactly the course which was pursued with regard to the practice of suttee; certain detailed rules and regulations were passed with a view to restrict within the narrowest possible bounds the performance of that rite, but which were found on trial to be attended with the exact contrary effect; and we were obliged to do at last what might have been done twenty years sooner with equal facility. In like manner the restrictions now recommended to be imposed on slavery by the Law Commission would legalise and confirm it to the extent allowed, and render its ultimate extinction not only remote, but a matter of much greater difficulty than at present."

Mr. Prinsep's opinion may be gathered from the following extract taken from his Minute, dated the 31st July, 1841:—

"It will be seen, from what I have written, that I go even further than the Governor-General, in desiring to avoid legislating upon the subject of slavery in India; I think it better to let no laws stand on our statute-book, except such as are directed against the importation of slaves for sale: all else I would leave to our courts and authorities, in full confidence that they have the desire, and the disposition, and the means, to bring about an entire abolition as fast as circumstances will allow. Of course it will be the duty of the Government executive to assist and encourage the public functionaries in this work; and there is one thing which I think the Government may do with great advantage, and ought to do immediately, and that is, to prohibit executing the sale of slaves by any public officer on any plea or under any process whatsoever."

Was any great importance to be attached to the opinions of this gentleman, we think we could show that, though he has "passed through a career of thirty years' service in India," he is not qualified by the accuracy of his knowledge to instruct, or the soundness of his principles to influence, any considerable portion of his countrymen. Happily, as he indicates, "the authorities in England may judge differently; and as they have mooted the question, we may leave to them to determine the course to be followed consequently upon the full investigation that has now been made."

We now come to the elaborate Minute of Mr. Amos, dated the 5th August, 1841. This gentleman appears to have waited until the whole of his colleagues had recorded their opinions, and then to have put forth the whole of his strength in defence of his own. Mr. Amos first shows that the effect of the plan suggested by the minority of the Law Commissioners "would be to confer freedom, and at the same time make elaborate provisions adapted to the continuance of slavery." He next very courteously states that he is

"not impressed in like manner with the Governor-General as to the accuracy of a statement, which appears to have influenced several of His Lordship's reasonings; viz., That it will be found that almost, if not at this time universally, no compulsion by master over his dependent is admitted by our criminal courts, and that any force used by him towards his so-called slave is punished just as it would be if used towards a free man." Neither is he convinced that, in reference to the Mohammedan criminal law, "the benefits it gives to persons in a condition of servitude, not of the strict kind that it alone recognises and sanctions, should be in any degree denied or abridged;" nor, in arguing the question of compensation, is he satisfied of the fact, that "the authority (of the master) wherever exercised, rests on no valid grounds," much less that slavery "has ceased to exist in by far the greater number of our districts." To take away the power of punishment from the master, without vesting it in the magistrate, recommended by the Commissioners, Mr. Amos thinks "tantamount to the abolition of slavery." To take it away, under the circumstances proposed by Lord Auckland, he conceives, "amounts to uncompensated abolition;" and rather than pass the Act in question, he would "prefer the view of Mr. Bird to that of the Governor-General, inasmuch as it would avoid many nominal and perhaps real inconsistencies which the proposed Act would create." He thinks, however, that both "these authorities go too far;" and that, by adopting either of their plans, it might appear to uninterested persons that, "in our desire to promote liberty and humanity," we had been "unconsciously doing an act of signal injustice." Mr. Amos, therefore, places himself under the wing of Mr. Prinsep, who deprecates both proposals. The soundness of Mr. Bird's "conclusion," and the reason for that conclusion, he does not deny, and only resists it "on the ground of its being too violent a disruption of existing rights and habits of society, or of its being unjust towards persons entitled to slave labour." Mr. Amos, however, differs with Mr. Bird and others, that "in India slavery is little more than a name," and disputes the grounds on which the assertion is made.

"With regard to Mr. Prinsep's Minute," he agrees "with its leading principle," that "the work of abolition is in progress, and that too much interference would defeat the end." He further agrees with him "in thinking that opinions have been expressed upon the subject of Indian slavery, by a large body of persons in England, which are highly exaggerated and inappropriate; and that even where they emanate from the pure feelings of humanity, they will often be found to be the result of an imperfect or erroneous view of facts." Both Mr. Prinsep and Mr. Amos, however, agree, that, "if the whole of India were now in the same condition as Malabar," they would have admitted the necessity of undermining the institutions of slavery there, by positive laws of the kind proposed by the Law Commission. This is an important admission, and goes far towards the settlement of the whole question, and completely changes the ground taken by Mr. Amos, for there "it is amply confirmed by usage and law;" and yet Mr. Amos would undermine it "by positive laws of the kind proposed by the Law Commission." After all, then, it is the accidents of slavery, and not the thing, which quicken the sensibilities of this accomplished person.

Mr. Amos is too rigid a lawyer not to condemn the courts and magistrates in India, who "warp the law, for the purpose of undermining any practices, however odious," as tending to many evils. He will not hear, therefore, of "equity and a good conscience," even in the administration of the law of slavery. His own views of what should be done are summed up in the following paragraph:

"Having thus expressed my assent or dissent with regard to the different propositions of the other members of Council, I do not think it necessary to go over the same grounds which I have done in conjunction with the Commissioners in the Report. I would not, for the reasons there stated, abolish slavery directly with Mr. Bird, or pass the Act proposed by the Governor-General, which would abolish it virtually, though indirectly. I would not abstain altogether from legislation, with Mr. Prinsep, because I deprecate making use of the bias of the courts as a means of undermining slavery; because the administration of justice in matters of slavery requires to be made more uniform and certain; and because I think more good than mischief may be produced by making provisions for restraining abuses of slavery, and for facilitating emancipations."

Here, for the present, we leave Mr. Amos, to notice the few last words of Lord Auckland in a minute dated the 27th of August, 1841, in which he states that he still generally adheres to the conclusions to which he had arrived in his former paper, viz., "that magistrates shall not interfere for the return of persons claimed as slaves to masters, and that they shall admit of no distinctions, in cases brought before them, founded on the relation between master and slave." Beyond this declaration, he does not think the Government should yet proceed. By proceeding in this manner, he considers no "mistaken apprehensions" will be awakened, and no "unfounded claims" fostered. The result His Lordship anticipates in the following words:—

"When the really slight and valueless nature of their tenure over their so called slaves becomes perfectly understood by masters and by all public officers in all parts of India, the open extinction of slavery as a status in any manner admitted by our laws may be expected to be received without discontent and resistance."

In pursuing our way through the mass of papers to which we have now called the attention of our readers, we find the ground taken against the immediate and entire abolition of slavery to be as follows:—1. The extreme mildness of the system; 2. Its progressive

decay under British rule; 3. The necessity for compensation to the owners if it were carried into effect; 4. The fears that might be entertained of secret discontent, if not of open violence, on the part of the slave-holders, should it be attempted.

Upon the first point, the Commissioners and the Supreme Council of India are agreed, though the statement must be received with great abatement, as the general evidence and their own admissions distinctly prove. It is not, however, with the incidents of slavery, for they may be more or less atrocious, according to circumstances, but with the thing itself—the reducing of human beings, and their posterity after them, to the condition of property, that we have to deal. Upon the second point, there is a discrepancy of opinion among the Indian authorities—the practice in some courts and districts recognises and enforces the relation between master and slave, in others not, and is continually liable to change in all cases with change of functionaries—a state of things which ought not to be allowed to continue. Upon the third point, the opinion of the Governor-General, Mr. Bird, Mr. Millett, and Mr. Cameron, is opposed to that of Messrs. Amos, Elliott, and Borradaile, the former conceiving that the changes contemplated by them will inflict no injury on the holders of slaves, whilst the latter contend that to take away the power of coercion without compensation would be injustice. Both parties, however, overlook the claims of the slaves; they are of secondary importance when compared with the alleged rights of their masters, and, but for the necessity laid upon them, would leave them to die in their degradation and bonds. Upon the fourth point, Mr. Amos appears to stand alone. He fears the consequences that would result from abolition, paying but little attention to the facts submitted to him, and completely overlooking the consideration that the whole native population of British India have been anticipating, for many years past, the inevitable termination of the system of slavery, without, in any one instance, offering the slightest opposition or protest against the same. We are satisfied that the abolition of slavery may be secured immediately and peacefully, and the last form of this terrible curse disappear from every part of the British dominions amidst universal rejoicings.

LORD MORPETH ON AMERICAN SLAVERY.

THE high excellence of LORD MORPETH's personal character, even more than his acknowledged ability, gives weight to any opinions he may express on subjects relating to the freedom, the elevation, and the happiness of mankind. We have, therefore, waited, with an interest bordering on anxiety, to become acquainted with the impressions made on his mind by his recent contact with slavery and the slave-trade in Cuba and the United States. From our own experience, as well as that of others, we know that it requires unslumbering vigilance, and a fixed determination not to be imposed upon by appearances, to penetrate into the hidden abominations of slavery, where they exist. Often has it happened that the unwary, though probably well-intentioned traveller, has not brought away from slave countries any vivid impressions of the evils and horrors of slavery. Introduced to the best class of slave-holders, he has been received with apparent generous hospitality, and, in his intercourse with them, has found them frank, courteous, refined, and, in some instances, professing an elevated piety. Judging of them probably by his own feelings, and in relation to himself and others, their equals in society and education, he has never thought that these polished and amiable beings could be otherwise than gentle and good towards their slaves. He has forgotten that the relation in which they stood towards their bondsmen was an unrighteous one, and that, willingly and wilfully to sustain and continue it, was a crime against God, as well as against humanity. He has ceased to be an opponent, if he has not become an abettor of slavery, and has not failed to palliate, when he could not justify the system. This, however, happily, has not been the case with LORD MORPETH. Neither his judgment nor his moral sense has been warped by his contact with slaveholders, though, in the excess of his own generous nature, he has complimented some of them more, we think, than any of them ever did, or could deserve. Of their hospitality, their refinement, their honour, in the conventional sense of the term, we have no doubt; but of their deep-toned piety, we must be permitted to doubt, until it can be proved that Christianity and slavery are compatible with each other.

Though LORD MORPETH leaves it to be rather inferred from the general strain of his remarks, than from any formal statement, it is quite clear that his views of the inherent evil of slavery is deepened, and his abhorrence of it increased, by his late tour in America; and delighted are we to find that henceforth the main portion of his interest, hopes, and aspirations as to the course of public events in the world around him, will be directed to the onward march of human freedom. A nobleman so justly distinguished, and, we may add, so generally beloved, is worthy of the mantle of a WILBERFORCE, and qualified, both by his moral and mental endowments, to carry forward that great work in which a SHARP, a CLARKSON, and a MACAULAY, in private, and a STEPHEN, a LUSHINGTON, and a BUXTON in public life, have so honourably distinguished themselves.

Aware of the special difficulties of the case, we do not wonder that LORD MORPETH gracefully declined striking the *Liberty Bell* in Boston, though earnestly invited to do so by a distinguished lady. He has, however, sounded a blast from the trumpet of British freedom, in a tone so deep and clear, that it will ring in the ears of slaveholders, and, we trust, awaken such echoes in their hearts as shall summon them to vindicate the great truth on which their own liberty is based, that "God hath created all men free and

equal, and endowed them with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." What a glorious day will that be for the United States, and for the world, when the fetter shall be stricken from the heel of the last slave, and he shall stand erect, in conscious dignity, a free man!

To the adoption of all measures, but those which are pacific and rational—to the use of all weapons but those which are moral and religious, we are as much opposed as LORD MORPETH, well knowing that "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." We would do "the work of Heaven," as he so eloquently recommends, "in the spirit of Heaven." Agreeing with His Lordship in this, we will not pervert the caution he inculcates into timidity, nor allow the calmness he teaches to degenerate into acquiescence with crime; neither will we magnify difficulties, or find excuses for inaction, because it may displease the oppressor. The duties we owe to man as man are superior to those we owe to conventional arrangements of nations—the former are proclaimed and enforced from Heaven, and are eternally binding on conscience; the latter may be subversive of all rights, in which case it would be criminal to respect them.

We commend the beautiful and eloquent letter of the noble Lord to the special attention of our readers:—

(From the *Liberty Bell*, an annual, published at the Anti-Slavery Fair, held in Boston, Dec. 1842.)

Castle Howard, Oct. 28, 1842.

My dear Mrs. Chapman,—Your note has followed me across the Atlantic, reminding me that, when you once asked me "for the cause's sake" to write a page or two for your annual publication of the *Liberty Bell*, I promised that "I would think of it." I now write to tell you that I have thought of it, and the result of my ripe reflection is a conviction, that for the "cause's sake" it would be better for me to decline the honour of being one of your contributors.

I say emphatically "for the cause's sake." Since I had the pleasure of meeting you all my personal observation of slavery has been made, and it has spread over a large surface. I have been present at debates on the subject in congress. I have witnessed the working and effects of the institutions of the south and south-west of your republic, and in the isle of Cuba—I have conversed with its friends, its enemies, and with neutrals, for such there are; I have met among planters and their families with persons not only of the most agreeable and refined intercourse, but of high honour, of real humanity, of deep and unaffected piety. Yet so far from my views of the system having become modified, I should not feel myself precluded by any sentiments of delicacy, or even of gratitude, towards them, from giving the fullest and most public vent to my opinions or my feelings, if I could think that "the cause" would thence derive the slightest benefit. The same grounds would induce me to concur in any use to which it might please you to put what I now address to you, even with the purpose of proving that I should be out of place among the regular ringers of the *Liberty Bell*.

Not, most assuredly, is it from want of sympathy that I should abstain from being enrolled in that good fellowship. While slavery does not strip all its advocates and agents of many high qualities and exalted virtues, so will not a zeal for the abolition of slavery ensure an exemption from faults and inconsistencies, errors in judgment, and blunders in conduct. But I have learned to look upon you, and those with whom you are associated, formally or virtually, throughout the wide Union, with a respect and interest scarcely to be inspired for any other "cause's sake" on the globe. Upon the soil of your own continent, abounding and abiding indeed are the stores of pleasant and instructive retrospect which I have garnered up for myself from the delightful acquaintanceship; from a face of nature, rich, various, in some at least of its features, unparalleled; from subjects and undertakings which, in their development or progress, most powerfully interest every one who is alive to the advancing destinies of his species. Among these, the purpose which has banded you together appears to me to assume the place of the highest dignity, it may be of the greatest difficulty. I know not, in these latter days, of any other enterprise which combines so much of the spirit of lofty chivalry with so much of the sobriety of genuine piety—which relies so closely on the logic of the most statistical calculations, and appeals so largely to the impulses of the most fervent humanity—which looks for such fruits on earth, and has such root in heaven.

From a contact like this why can I even seem to shrink? It is plain that the conduct of all well-wishers to the cause ought to be resolved to one simple issue—the good of the cause itself. Now I am inclined to believe that the admitted difficulties by which it is beset would only be aggravated by the intervention of foreign co-operation; sufficient jealousy is on the alert among the tobacco, rice, cotton, and sugar-growing states against the proceedings of Massachusetts and Ohio; I see no occasion for having it whetted anew against the grasping and perfidious Albion, who, reeling, as we are often told, from the effect produced by her act of emancipation upon her own doomed dependencies, now unceasingly strives to level all the balmy domains of slavery in one common ruin. Desperate as may be the obtuseness of conscience which I thus evince, I must plainly state, that if there is a topic on which I can bear with the most unmoved equanimity any amount of reprobation, whether lavished from the tribune at Paris, or from the floor of the Capitol, it is on the motives which inspired the part taken by my country in the emancipation of her slave population. Within all the corners of her territories, upon the free billows of the common ocean, I should be the last to bid her shrink from any right or effort which her municipal law, or the legitimate claim of general humanity, may exact or counsel; but inside the precincts of your own republic, amid the complicated relations of your several States, beneath the obligations of their federal constitution, it would appear to me that all foreign interference whatsoever, probably, at the best, ill-adapted and ill-constructed to meet the special niceties of the question, would only tend to irritate the elements of strife, give a fresh point to the aims of prejudice, and clothe the insinuations of self-interest with the dignified garb of wounded national honour. I am conscious that I may seem to you to magnify any possible effect

that might proceed from some probably very pointless scrap of composition; but in all these matters it should be more a question of principle than of degree. I have seen before now that the susceptibility of nations can stoop very low, as well as soar very high. If a foreign chime should be detected in the peal of the *Liberty Bell*, I know not what startling echoes it might not awaken in the deepest recesses of Accomac. There is a line which we happen to have often heard quoted among ourselves,

— "Know ye not,
Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow."

Now, strong as my opinion would be upon the supposition of a possible permanence of the present system, I should think him a bold man who could contemplate without shuddering the issue of a negro insurrection.

The true application of the line in your case is this:—Who would *make* free, themselves must strike the blow; and, moreover if the peculiar difficulties of the struggle seem to point exclusively to American efforts for their solution, so for American brows ought to be reserved the undivided laurel of the triumph. Though I may have chanced to use the metaphor of war, yet it is plain, from the nature of the contest, from the relative number of the partisans, from the temper of the weapons employed, that if victory is to crown your exertions, it must be, as was the case in our own analogous, though less arduous achievement, a victory of argument, of reason, of patience, of conscience, of religion. Though I have forbid to myself the meanest place in your ranks, I shall remain no indifferent spectator of the continuing conflict.

The more obvious marks of public attention on either side of the sea may be diverted to other fields of action; you will dispute about Presidents, and we shall wrangle over Tariffs. I am not underrating the importance which attaches to such considerations, but after having trod the confines of slavery, after having traced our dark-coloured brethren in every condition, from the boy with the crescent mark of native royalty on his brow, just sold into eternal servitude upon the shore of Cuba, to the erect and disciplined recruit, who firmly treads the soil of Canada, I feel that henceforth the main portion of my interest, hopes, and aspirations as to the course of public events in the world around me must be directed to the onward march of human freedom. In that imposing cause the friends of the slave in the United States of North America appear to me to hold the most forward and critical position. May all your armoury be worthy of the service in which it must be wielded—the gentleness that subdues, the discretion that guides, without keeping back the zeal that never cools, but never inflames. To say all, may you do the work of Heaven with the spirit of Heaven, accompanied by the sympathies, the hopes, and the prayers of the Christian people of all nations; but relying alone on the Everlasting Arms beneath you, and your own good use of the means intrusted to your disposal.

Believe me, my dear Mrs. Chapman, with the most sincere esteem and good wishes, your most faithful servant,

MORPETH.

NOTICES.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER is an Evening Paper, published on alternate Wednesdays, and may be had of all News-vendors throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

A FEW COPIES of the THIRD VOLUME of the REPORTER, half-bound, are now on sale at the Office of the Society, 27, New Broad-street, price Ten Shillings. Those friends who wish a complete copy will please to apply without delay.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

We beg to call the attention of our friends and fellow-labourers throughout the United Kingdom, to the importance of their taking early measures for the appointment of delegates to the forthcoming convention of abolitionists, to be held in London in June next. Notification has already been given to the London Committee that six delegates have been appointed by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, four by the Birmingham, four by the Rochester, three by the Bath Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Associations, and four by the Stoke Newington Ladies' Auxiliary. Early notices of further appointments will oblige.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society should be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad-street, London.

All Communication for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JANUARY 25, 1843.

With the single exception of Mauritius, no colony offered greater resistance to the abolition of the apprenticeship than Trinidad. When, however, the termination of that system of oppression became inevitable, in consequence of the steps taken by the Executive to secure it, the Legislative Council of the island passed the most rigorous acts, the object of which was to create a state of slavery, under the name of freedom. So opposed to every principle of justice, so entirely subversive of the great design of the Abolition Act were they, that the Home Government disallowed or superseded them, with few exceptions, by ordinances more in accordance with the design of the Imperial Legislature.

Defeated in their first attack on the liberties of the negroes, a deep plot was laid to effect their object another way, namely, by the substitution of magistrates imbued with their own spirit, or subject to their influence, for those appointed from this country by the Crown. In this they have unfortunately succeeded—not a

single gentleman from home now fills the office of stipendiary magistrate. A strict and impartial inquiry into the means by which this has been brought about, would unfold some strange particulars, and show the necessity which exists for greater vigilance and circumspection on the part of those who have the controlling power in these affairs. The original design of the Government in the appointment of magistrates of high character, independent of local interests and influences, has thus been frustrated by colonial address; and a most important department of the public service is in consequence inadequately, if not improperly performed.

Having been successful in this particular, the same parties proceeded still further, and, under pretext of benefiting the African immigrants who might resort to the colony, they procured the passage of the "Bondage Ordinance," which places them at the disposal of the Executive, for the planters' benefit. Nothing could justify this step in Trinidad more than in Jamaica and British Guiana; yet in the two latter colonies no such law is required, nor, so far as we know, is it desired. While this ordinance continues in force, we shall protest strongly against the introduction of any more captured Africans into Trinidad.

As a worthy sequel to these proceedings, we learn that active exertions are being made to dispossess certain parties settled on the Crown lands, the result of which, should it be accomplished, will be to bring the entire labouring population under the power and control of the planters.

Had there been no laws in existence in the colony to prevent trespass on lands belonging to private persons, or squatting upon the Crown lands, it would seem but fair that they should be enacted; but, when it is known that in the former case every proprietor of land can eject unauthorized intruders by due process, and that since the 30th March, 1839, no portion of the Crown lands could be occupied without purchase, and that ample powers were given to the Executive to compel all persons, who had not been for twelve months preceding the Act in possession of such lands, to abandon them; it appears utterly unnecessary that there should be additional legislation. The object of the planters, in this new movement, is to obtain a more stringent ordinance, retrospective in its character, in relation to the occupation of the Crown lands; in other words, to break up the little villages which have been built, and to lay waste the grounds which have been cultivated by the negroes, who had been permitted to occupy, and are now in lawful possession of such lands.

It should be known that the parties in possession of these villages are among the chiefest benefactors of the colony, as growers of provisions, and producers of charcoal; and that, whatever benefit might be derived by the planters, their dislodgment would be generally and severely felt by the public at large.

We trust the Government will resist this new attempt of the planters to coerce labour.

It has been long known to those who have watched the rise and progress of the Texan republic, that it has always been ready to throw itself into the arms of the United States, and that the Southern section of that country has been as ready to receive it into its embrace. That eminent statesman, John Quincy Adams, whose vigilance and eloquence in times past prevented so deplorable a catastrophe, has again sounded the alarm, and called special attention to the subject in a speech of great power, delivered to his constituents, at Weymouth, Massachusetts, in September last. From that speech we give an extract, which will be found in its proper place; and as the subject is deserving the gravest consideration, not only of abolitionists, on the ground of humanity, but of the Government and nation, on the score of policy, we propose to add the remarks of a portion of the American press on it, with the view of showing with how much alarm it should be regarded by the friends of freedom and of peace.

The *Free American*, of the 15th ult., says:—"The belief that a desperate effort is about to be made by the Tyler and Webster administration to secure the annexation of Texas to the Union, during the present session of Congress, gains strength every day." The cautious editor of the *United States Gazette*, in commenting on Mr. Adams's speech, observes:—"We are free to avow our belief, that there are many persons of influence in this country who look to such a proceeding, and consequently favour all action, abroad and at home, which excites sympathy for Texas, and hostility to Mexico." Another influential paper, the *New York American*, expresses itself thus:—"Those who have marked the course of the southern States in regard to Texas, or who have read the recent address by J. Q. Adams to his constituents, in which he portrays, in colours of living light, the systematic, unslumbering designs of the South, either to sustain Texas as an independent, slave-buying republic, or to have her annexed, in the same character, to this Union,—will readily believe that Mr. Tyler will not stickle about exerting at least all his constitutional authority in upholding Texas, and restraining Mexico." The *Ohio State Journal*, in advertising to "the aggressions of the slave power," states, that "it is well known that a darling object with the loco-foco party of the South is the attachment of Texas to the Union. The slave power is anxious to extend itself, and augment its weight in the general government. John Tyler, our present President, participates in those yearnings for the acquisition of Texas." The desire, however, for the acquisition of Texas is not confined to the loco-focos; the leading Whigs, with the President at their head, such as Preston, Bots, Arnold, Upshur, &c., are no less eagerly intent upon it.

Nor are the citizens of that republic indifferent to the union. A letter from Galveston, to a gentleman in Kentucky, published in the *Clarion*, dated 15th July, 1842, after giving an account of the projected invasion of Mexico by Texas, "without a dollar in its treasury," and "no credit to borrow either at home or abroad," states, that "nine-tenths of the citizens of Texas are anxious to become annexed to the United States. If they could effectuate that, or even be at peace with Mexico, in a few years Texas would be a very wealthy and desirable country."

To these extracts from the press, we add the two important facts, that Mr. Waddy Thompson, whom Mr. Adams designates as "the most inveterate enemy of Mexico, and the most zealous and intriguing leader of the gag-rule party against the right of petition, and for the annexation of Texas to the Union," has been substituted for Mr. Ellis, as the American minister at Mexico; and that an expeditionary force, composed of three men-of-war and a steamer, had been sent by the United States Government to Vera Cruz, to aid him in the objects he is deputed to accomplish.

Taken together, these things seem to indicate that the pro-slavery party in the United States are bent upon achieving their long-cherished design of securing Texas. Once obtained, it will give a new impetus to slavery and the internal slave-trade; and the expectation of Mr. Upshur, (a Virginian,) one of Mr. Tyler's chief ministers, will be realized:—"If," said he, in a memorable speech delivered some time since in his native state, "if it should be our lot, as I trust it will be, to acquire the country of Texas, the price of slaves will rise again."

This is a subject which should not be lost sight of by the British press.

LORD STANLEY has stolen a march on the British Legislature. Just before the assembling of Parliament he has made known, through the medium of the press, his scheme of Emigration from Africa to the West Indies, and has taken the preliminary steps for giving it effect. We venture to think that a matter of such grave importance, involving questions of the greatest delicacy, and leading to consequences the most momentous in reference to the slave-trade and slavery, should not have been settled between a few West India planters and the noble Lord, but should have been submitted to the careful consideration of the Legislature; and time should have been given for the public to have canvassed it thoroughly, and to have given their decision upon it.

The noble Lord may say that he is borne out by the decision of two Parliamentary Committees as to the necessity which exists for the supply of African labour to the British colonies, and that such supply can be obtained, without stimulating the slave-trade, either internal or external, with Africa. We take the liberty of denying these assumptions. No proof whatever exists that such a supply of labour as that complained of by the planters is wanted; or that, if wanted, it might not be obtained without a resort to Africa. What really is wanted, in the British colonies, is capital to secure the labour which is already there—the economical management of estates by resident proprietors—and the fair and honourable treatment of the labourers. Let these be found, and we fear not that, as the population increases by natural means, and by spontaneous emigration, the resources of the colonies would be developed, and that they would be able to compete both in the home market, and the foreign markets to which they might have access, with the growers of tropical produce by slave-labour. But were it proved that the colonies actually wanted the immense supply of labour stated, we contend that it could not be obtained from Africa, without stimulating the slave-trade. As to free African labour, except to a limited extent at Sierra Leone and the Gambia, we feel satisfied that it cannot be gotten, notwithstanding the confident assertions to the contrary. The Kroos and Fishmen, who will be invited to go to the West Indies when the supply from Sierra Leone is exhausted, are not free in such a sense as to constitute them voluntary agents in their engagements with the Government or the planters. Their chiefs must be consulted, and presents given, before they will consent to their departure from their homes; and then their wives and children will be retained in pawn until their return, when it is more than probable the chiefs will come in for the lion's share of their earnings. This is the case now. Moreover, we are satisfied, that, when the chiefs have assented, compulsion will be used to make the Kroos, who prefer the coast of Africa to the West Indies, willing to go whithersoever the agent may appoint.

Lord Stanley may pledge his responsibility that this shall not be the case. We beg to tell the noble Lord that we cannot accept the pledge in the present case. The public eye will not be on the agent in Africa, the public voice cannot control his movements. His instructions may be perfect; but that is no guarantee that they will be faithfully observed. Besides, Lord Stanley agrees that the Kroos may resort to the colonies unaccompanied by their wives and families, or by any females whatsoever. The horrible results of such an arrangement may be imagined, but decency forbids their mention. Is the noble Lord prepared, as a Christian man, to bear this responsibility on his conscience; or, having admitted the arrangement to hold good as it respects the introduction of Coolies into Mauritius, does he feel himself bound, in consistency, to admit it in reference to the importation of Kroos into the West Indies? We sicken at the contemplation of these things.

Looking, however, beyond the mere effect of African emigration on the Africans themselves, whom it is proposed to benefit by the change, we again venture to ask, whether the course about to be pursued by Lord Stanley will not be soon followed by Brazil, Spain,

and other slave-holding countries? In addition to Senegal and Goree, France is about establishing three forts or block-houses on the western coast of Africa;—these may become depots for labourers for the French colonies. The Portuguese settlements, south of the line, on the same coast, may easily become receptacles for negroes for Brazil; and Spain may now think it worth while to occupy Fernando Po, with a view to the supply of Cuba and Puerto Rico with free labourers. The slave-trade may thus assume a new form, and be perpetuated in spite of all the efforts of the British Government to suppress it. Is Lord Stanley prepared for this? can he adduce any argument against it that a clever diplomatist might not easily evade or overcome? Depend on it, Lord Stanley's scheme will put a weapon in the hands of the slaveholders, with which they will wound the dearest interests of humanity, and from the keen edge of which no shield can be opposed with success.

Lord Normanby, when at the head of the Colonial Office, foresaw the use which would be made of African emigration to the West Indies, and manfully opposed it, as he did also Coolie emigration to the Mauritius. His Lordship said—

"With regard to the introduction of labourers from India, more than enough has already passed to render Her Majesty's Government decidedly hostile to every such project. * * * We are not less opposed to the plan of recruiting the negro population of the West Indies from Africa. No precautions which have been, or which could be devised, would prevent such a measure from giving a stimulus to the internal slave-trade on that continent, or from bringing discredit on the sincerity of the efforts made by this nation for the suppression of that system of guilt and misery."

Literary Notice.

Remarks on the "*Ensayo Político sobre la Isla de Cuba.*" Por el Baron A. de Humboldt, &c.

(Continued from page 5.)

WE proceed to notice the "First Question" of J. A. Saco; "Will the abolition of the slave-trade ruin or retard the progress of agriculture in Cuba?" In replying to this query, the author exposes the dreadful character and impolicy of the slave-trade. In connexion with this subject, he also expresses a decided opinion that there is no kind of labour at present performed by slaves in Cuba, including the cultivation and manufacture of sugar, which might not be obtained from freemen, on more advantageous terms. In support of this opinion, J. A. Saco adduces a variety of facts relative to free labour in Cuba, Porto Rico, and other parts of the world. Among these, he notices the circumstance that many white labourers have been, and still are, employed in Cuba in the cultivation of sugar. Respecting the manufacture of sugar, J. A. Saco observes, that no one who is acquainted with its nature will have the hardihood to say that it is so toilsome as is supposed. The unreasonable duration of the mechanical process proceeds much more from the abuse which is allowed to be heaped upon the slaves than from its difficult nature. It is also stated that sugar is extensively produced by free labour in Porto Rico, and is obtained by the same means in the East Indies, China, Java, Siam, Mexico, and in the southern part of Old Spain.

In conclusion, the author thus notices the objection to the abolition of the slave-trade, founded on the supposed loss which it may occasion:—

"If losses should occur, they will be small, insignificant; or, to speak more properly, only such in appearance. Perhaps, although I do not fear it, we shall make for two or three years a smaller number of boxes of sugar; but, if such should be the case, this will be the most acceptable offering which we can make upon the altars of our country for our deliverance from ruin. Inhabitants of Cuba! my dear fellow-countrymen, awake, awake! No longer live under the influence of dreams or illusions! An imperious voice calls you, and, armed with an irresistible power, comes to us to dictate its decrees. If you do not prepare yourselves to hear it, you will struggle in vain against (your) destiny. You can still alleviate the calamity that threatens you; at present, there shines upon our sky the bright sun of hope; but if, buried in your lethargy, you allow the days of life and redemption to pass, the tremendous hour will sound, and we shall all perish in the universal overthrow."

We shall next give a few short extracts from "the slaves in the Spanish colonies," by the Countess Merlin, the original of which was first published in French, in the "*Revue de deux Mondes.*" This little work contains much interesting and not unimportant matter. The facts which it records, and not a few of the statements which it contains, appear to us to be in themselves strong reasons for the abolition of slavery; against which measure, however, it will be seen the Countess endeavours to contend.

On a future occasion we shall probably borrow more largely from her performance. At present we content ourselves with quoting the following passages, illustrative of her sentiments and mode of advocating them:—

"Nothing is more just than the abolition of the trade in negroes; nothing more unjust than the emancipation of the slaves. If the slave-trade is a shameful abuse of power, an attack upon natural rights, emancipation would be a violation of property—of rights acquired and consecrated by the laws, an actual spoliation."

In another place we find it observed that:—

"Slavery is an attack upon natural right; but it exists in Asia, in Africa, in the United States, in the very centre of civilization, and it is tolerated. Hitherto it has never come under my notice that any one has attempted to attack it in Russia by an appeal to religion."

After an attempt to palliate the enormities of the slave-trade, founded on the alleged miserable condition of the slave in Africa at a past time, it is said :—

"Thus, even in abolishing the slave-trade, we should yet be far from attaining the end which the philanthropic nations propose to accomplish. The constant efforts of Great Britain to emancipate the slaves in the Spanish colonies are known. If the origin of these efforts were pure, Great Britain would acquire an imperishable glory, that of destroying the evil at its root, proclaiming a holy league in Europe. Such a new crusade would be a mission to Africa, having for its object, to teach the savage tribes, whether by persuasion or force, that man ought to respect the life and liberty of other men."

We make only one more quotation at present from the work of the Countess :—

"May the holy man of Chiapa (Las Casas) pardon me. The slavery that he introduced was a deplorable seed for the Havana; it is become a gigantic tree, and produces at present the bitter fruits of its origin; but it cannot be felled without incurring the risk of burying us beneath its weight. It is an inexhaustible source of sufferings, of grave responsibilities and of fears, and is besides, by the excessive expense that it occasions, a principle of permanent ruin. The labour of the free man would not only be a purer element of riches, but also more solid and more lucrative."

It only remains for us to speak of, and make one or two extracts from the "Memorial respecting Slavery," by M. Torrentes. This production is worthy of little notice, consisting, as it does, to a considerable extent, of common-place pretences for the continuance of slavery; some passages borrowed from the Countess Merlin, which are among the weakest and most inconclusive in her work; sundry advices to the Spanish and British governments; and statements, greatly at variance with fact, relative to the results of British emancipation.

Did our space permit, we would insert the glowing and elaborate description given of the happy situation of the slaves in Cuba, who are represented as possessing a large amount of physical comfort, disquieted by no cares, shielded from those vices which produce so much misery among the poor in free countries, and, to crown the whole, trained in a religious course of life. Such a statement will, however, excite considerable doubt in the mind of every person who has any knowledge of the general character of slavery, not only of its truthfulness, but of the veracity of the author in other portions of his work. We shall only now make one extract from M. Torrentes' performance, which we believe to rest upon a better foundation than the extravagant fiction we have just noticed :—

"There have been published very recently some articles, with the sentiments contained in which I do not entirely coincide, although it would be injustice to deny to the authors a pure intention and true patriotism; but I have the misfortune to see these matters in a different light. It is said in these documents that the island of Cuba desires the total proscription of the slave-trade, and it is even stated that in the *Standard* of London there has been inserted a representation from various proprietors of estates in Cuba, complaining of the illicit traffic which they affirm to be carried on, although only on a small scale. I do not agree with the first, nor admit the second, unless as a rare exception. I cannot agree in the sentiment that the island of Cuba desires the suppression of this traffic, because I cannot advance so far as to believe that a person desires that which is injurious to him. I will be more frank, more honest, more explicit in my assertions. The non-introduction of new hands is very injurious to the island of Cuba. This island, which possesses the most fertile lands in the world, requires a larger population to unfold the seeds which it contains of opulence and power."

We have no doubt that it is the truth, that a large part of the inhabitants of Cuba, who dishonour the name of freemen, do desire the continuance of the African slave-trade, in order to repair the dreadful waste of human life which is constantly taking place on nearly every plantation, as well as to extend the cultivation of sugar. With such motives and feelings, existing on the part of the slaveholders of Cuba, we can have no confidence in the abolition of the slave-trade in that island, until the guilty system of slavery shall be utterly abolished, and the market for human beings thus effectually destroyed. The moral delinquency of slavery noticed thirty years ago in some Cuban documents, we have cited; the faith of treaties, and the authority of laws, are powerless to prevent the most atrocious crimes in a community where the conscience is seared, and the heart steeled by the practice of slave-holding. We do, however, derive encouragement as respects the abolition of slavery itself in Cuba, from the fact that both in that island and in Spain, as throughout the civilized world, this subject is now seriously canvassed. We know, indeed, that such a measure will be resisted as long as possible, by those who claim a property in their fellow-men, but the force of a growing public opinion in all free countries, together with other circumstances, to which we may hereafter allude, will doubtless serve to hasten the coming of that day of righteous jubilee, when the unlawful captive of Cuba and Porto Rico shall be delivered, and the oppressed shall be suffered to go free.

(To be continued.)

Home Intelligence.

CAPTAIN DENMAN.—We copy the following from the *United Service Gazette* of the 21st inst. The prosecution to which it refers has been threatened for some time past. The *Morning Herald* of Monday last states that the action now pending is in course of compromise, but does not state by whom, whether by the Government, the Hon. Captain Denman, or by the slave-traders and their agents in this country :—

"We understand that the letter of Lord Aberdeen, discouraging the destruction of slave barracoons, as well as the blockade of notorious slave ports at Gallinas, Bissao, Cacheo, &c., on the coast of Africa, and his indirect reflections on the conduct of the gallant officers engaged in those laudable exploits, (approved, and even rewarded, by the late Admiralty,) have encouraged the miscreant slave-dealers of Gallinas (abetted and supported by their friends and coadjutors in this country) to institute proceedings against Captain Denman for the loss they have sustained at his hands, which they have the modesty to estimate at upwards of 300,000*l.*"

MR. TURNBULL.—We copy the following announcement from the *London Gazette* of the 6th inst. :—"The Queen has been pleased to appoint Lieut. R. J. Le Mesurier M'Clure to be superintendent of Africans captured by Her Majesty's ships of war, and liberated at the Havana." By the above appointment it will be seen that Mr. Turnbull has been superseded in the appointment he lately held at the Havana. We cannot, however, regard his removal as indicating a change of policy on the part of the Government in reference to the slave-trade; though we regret that so active, intelligent, and zealous an officer should have been removed from a situation he so admirably filled. During the time Mr. Turnbull filled the offices of Consul and Superintendent of Liberated Africans, he was enabled to secure the liberty of upwards of two hundred individuals, among whom were several British subjects, from slavery, in which they were illegally held. We trust we shall be enabled shortly to give our readers some account of his visit to Gibara, where there are a large number of British-born negroes in bondage, for the purpose of correcting the misrepresentations which have been circulated through the medium of some portion of the press of this country.

DR. MADDEN.—Mr. Matthew Forster, the African merchant, after having exhausted his own stock of arguments and invective against Dr. Madden, for his able and thorough exposure of the base practices of some of his countrymen on the western coast of Africa, in aiding and abetting the slave-trade, appears to have exhausted the stock of his agents also, who crowded forward to do homage to him as the friend of Africa and the enemy of the slave-trade. The Macleans, the Hugheses, and the Bunters are now silent, after having discharged their venom and their calumnies upon Dr. Madden. Truth, however, will triumph, however much it may be obscured for a season; and justice will be done to its advocates, however much they may have been abused and slandered. We are rejoiced to see the journals of both the great parties in this country are vying with each other in paying a just tribute of praise to so devoted a friend of the human race as Dr. Madden. The *Leeds Mercury* expresses its "high admiration of Dr. Madden's zealous and self-sacrificing labours on behalf of the oppressed, first in the British West Indies, then in Cuba, and lastly in Africa." In this they agree with the *United Service Gazette*. Commenting upon a letter from an old and devoted friend of Africa, Colonel Edward Nicholls, highly complimentary to the estimable and benevolent Doctor, it says, "Differing as we do from Dr. Madden's political opinions, and wholly unacquainted as we are with the man, we cannot choose but echo the sentiments of our correspondent;" and it is added, "we cannot forget that our attention was first directed by his evidence to that atrocious perpetuation of slavery, in violation of every dictate of law and humanity, the 'Pawn System;' and that whatever credit has been assigned to us for our exposure of that system, we are chiefly indebted to him. * * * The pawn system of slavery was in full operation, until its enormity was exposed by Dr. Madden. The merit of its abolition, if that should be accomplished, which seems certain, will belong to Dr. Madden, and not to us. He was the first to expose it. We have but seconded his efforts in a feeble, but at all events an earnest, spirit. The cause of humanity is a neutral ground, on which persons of all politics and prejudices may fairly meet. On this ground we have offered the right hand of fellowship to Dr. Madden. On all other questions we are, we doubt not, still *à l'outrance*." Let but the British press act in this noble and generous spirit, and the best results must ensue.

Colonial Intelligence.

JAMAICA—IMMIGRATION.—When we reflect on the vast sum that immigration has cost the country, when we examine the papers submitted to the House of Assembly, and observe that thousands upon thousands of pounds have been thrown away, without any benefit derived from the expenditure, it becomes our duty to express ourselves in terms of the highest commendation on the course of conduct pursued by Mr. Dunstone, in bringing the subject with independent honesty of purpose before the public; nor must we omit giving him the praise that he deserves for treating the ungentlemanly language used towards him by the Agent-General (Dr. Ewart) with the contempt it merited. * * * * Immigration has been a serious evil to Jamaica—it has tended to impoverish her Treasury—to increase the wages of the peasantry—to raise up a host of enemies in the mother country—and to hurry to an early grave hundreds of families, who, destitute as they no doubt were in their native land, were not the sort of persons who, by emigrating to a West India colony, were likely to better their condition. And now, what more is required? Dr. Ewart, at ease with his berth—desirous of enjoying, for years to come, the "loaves and fishes" which have been so palatable, although obliged to confess that European Immigration has been a signal failure, talks and writes in the most glowing terms upon the advantages that have been derived from the importation of Africans. But his veriest friends now plainly perceive, that the scheme will not answer at all, unless it be conducted under the immediate patronage and supervision of the British Government, who, if they determine to carry it out, will take especial care that a *proper* account be given of the money expended. And hence, we find Mr. Hylton moving for the "appointment of a Committee to investigate the accounts of the Agent General of Immigration—and to ascertain what real and personal property had been purchased by him for immigration purposes, and what had become thereof?" Ay—and what has become thereof? Let the question be asked of Mr. Dunstone, or Mr. Wallcott—or Mr. Hamilton Brown, or

Mr. Any-one-else by whom the townships have been visited. It will on inquiry be ascertained, that these Jamaica El Dorados—these neat and comfortable settlements of which so much has been heard, exist only in the Agent-General's report to the Executive—that no attempt was made towards their erection until the complaint had been urged by Mr. Dunstone of the disgraceful cheat practised on the inhabitants of the colony—that the timbers purchased are positively rotting on the ground—and that notwithstanding a good round number of cattle has been bought to take the lumber up, they have been permitted to graze in "happy indolence" on the pen of a certain gentleman, who, as a matter "of course," has a large bill against the Treasury for feeding and taking care of them. We once more denounce the Immigration System of which Dr. Ewart is the head and front, as one of rank jobbery, in which, as in all cases of jobbery, is a strong mixture of imposition and fraud.—*Falmouth Post*, Dec. 7th.

BRITISH GUIANA.—MR. BARKLY.—The *Times* has completed the publication of the evidence of Mr. Barkly, who appears to have followed Mr. Mungo Campbell as a witness before the West India Committee, touching the affairs of British Guiana. It is sufficiently evident from this examination, that Mr. Barkly is a far superior man to Mr. Mungo Campbell. * * * * * The same criticism, which the indulgent *Times* makes upon the testimony of its pupil and echo, is equally applicable to Mr. Barkly. He is led by the committees into a much wider field than he is at all acquainted with; and he undertakes to enlighten the world on several matters, as to which he was himself either uninformed or misinformed. There is always something suspicious when a witness undertakes to know too much; and there is something very ridiculous in a person who pays a flying business visit of a few months to a country, professing to give a true and complete account of its precise social condition. * * * * * It is all very well for sugar planters to denounce all men as idle, who do not work in the cane field; and to consider all labour not devoted to the production of sugar, as no better than sheer indolence. But it is only fair in forming an estimate of the true amount of the industry of the Berbice labourers during the last four years, to take into account what they have done for themselves, as well as what they have done for their employers. Now, besides the produce made in Berbice since the emancipation, and the plantation cottages and other buildings erected, the labourers of Berbice, as appears from a return now before us, have, within that period, built for themselves no less than *eleven hundred and eighty-four* freehold cottages. To these cottages are attached about *seven thousand* acres of land, purchased at a cost of upwards of a *hundred thousand* dollars, and put into cultivation in provisions. These freeholds are occupied by *twelve hundred and twenty-three* families, including *four thousand six hundred and forty-six* individuals. More than a fourth part of the lazy Berbice agricultural labourers have already houses of their own, purchased and built by their own labour! Nor has the acquisition of their own houses withdrawn them from the sugar cultivation. While their houses were building they could not give the same labour as before to their old employers; but after they were built, as appears by the same return, the able-bodied labourers mostly applied themselves to plantation labour, leaving the grounds to be looked after by the children and the invalids.—*Gazette*, Dec. 8th.

In two important articles referring to the proceedings of the West India Committee, the editor of the *Guiana Gazette* points out, by a reference to official documents, that a diminution of produce shipped from the colony is mainly to be attributed to the dreadful mortality which has taken place since the year 1830-32. During the years 1830, '31, '32, the average rural population amounted to 84,000; the average for the years 1832, '40, '41, amounted to not more than 70,000, notwithstanding the introduction, during the interval between the two periods, of 9,000 immigrants, thus showing a diminution of 14,000. If to these be added 10,000 more, which is probably below the mark, for children at school, women withdrawn from the field, and those to whom the new state of society has opened new employments, the persons engaged during the latter period may be fairly reckoned at 24,000 less than those employed during the former, which will go far to account for the diminution of cultivation. In the last seven or eight months of 1841, there were introduced 8,000 immigrants, and this year (1842) 3,000 more. Making due allowance for the mortality among the Portuguese, and those who have settled down in town, we may have received an addition to our rural population of about 7,000, still leaving a loss since 1830-32, of 17,000. "Surely such a statement of facts would have had more weight with all impartial men, than all the testimony, true or otherwise, of all the Campbells and Barklys that ever existed." In addition to these facts the *Gazette* observes:—"There are two great means of reducing the cost of producing sugar in this colony much more within the power of the planters than immigration is, or ever can be. One is an improved method of cultivation and manufacture; the other, economy of labour in executing the processes now in use." Referring to certain mechanical inventions, it asks, "Cannot the planters do something to promote these necessary inventions? Must they remain helpless and motionless for ever, looking to Africa and Lord Stanley? Africa and Lord Stanley are very well in their way, but an excavator, a field-cane carrier, and a steam-plough would do more for the colony than both together."—*Ibid*, Dec. 10th and 13th.

CAPTURED AFRICANS.—His Excellency the Governor, on a late visit to Berbice, was very well satisfied with the progress of the captured Africans in education,—at least, so said the *Gazette* of that country: may we be permitted to inquire whether His Excellency has been made acquainted with the progress of those whose lot has been cast in the counties of Demerara and Essequibo? For it has come to our knowledge that the managers of some of the estates on which these people are labouring, do not afford the children sufficient time, in some instances none at all, to attend instruction.—*Sentinel*, Dec. 17th.

ST. KITTS.—During the past week, we have been blessed with the most favourable weather, heavy rain at night, and a beautiful sunshine through the day; we have therefore the prospect of a large crop for the following year.—*Advertiser*, Dec. 6th.

DOMINICA.—From the latest agricultural report on the state of the colony, we learn that "the cane fields are looking well, and their appearance pleasing to the sight," but that there appears to be "a backwardness in the opening of land for the crop of 1843." The report complains that the improvements introduced into other islands have not yet reached Dominica, and urges upon the planters the duty of using the "improved plough," and of easing "the negroes as much as possible of the heaviest work on the estate;" not because it advocates their interests, but because it "desires to see the planters prospering."—*Dominican*.

TRINIDAD.—The Trinidad papers are taken up with the subject of Squatting. All at once, Mr. Burnley and his party have discovered that it is ruining the colony, and vehemently urge upon the Acting-Governor, Sir Charles Chichester, the duty of ejectment. The law, however, stands in the way. Some of the Squatters, as they are termed, have been in possession of their holdings thirteen years, and were granted the lands they occupy by the commandants of districts under an ordinance passed in 1816; and the time which the great majority of others have settled on Crown lands, prevents ejectment except by due process of law, as settled by the Order in Council of October, 1838. It also appears, that the Spanish law gives a colourable title to occupancy to those who have been in possession a year and a day. Replying to Mr. Burnley's recommendation, that the Acting-Governor should eject summarily, or rather frighten the people, by sending to their villages an officer, to warn them off the lands as illegal holders, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Wylley, said, "he was at a loss to understand the object of the discussion raised in the Council by Mr. Burnley. The Order in Council showed the form of proceeding for the removal of Squatters, and that if that law were found defective, there should be a new one passed—but, until that was done, they could go no further." . . . He deemed "the right of ejecting contrary to law, and until her Majesty's Government gave further powers, they must go on with the law as it existed." The Attorney-General "considered that the Solicitor-General was quite right, that they must be bound by the law as it stood." Mr. Burnley, not content "would have all parties holding small lots called upon to produce their titles." The Acting Chief Justice Jackson, however, told him that "No person had a right to ask that." Perhaps, if the principle attempted to be enforced by Mr. Burnley were applied to the holders of large estates, it might be found that not a few of the planters of Trinidad did not possess a legal title. The Acting-Governor, with every disposition to oblige Mr. Burnley, decided upon waiting the return of Sir Henry M'Leod to the island, but in the meantime would send proper individuals to eject Squatters who were not protected by laws now in force.

GRENADA.—Return of produce manufactured in and exported from the island of Grenada during the years 1840, 1841, and 1842:—**SUGAR.**—1840, 5,473 hhds., 708 tierces, 931 barrels; 1841, 4,972 hhds., 806 tierces, 1,511 barrels; 1842, 5,096 hhds., 347 tierces, 1,940 barrels. **MOLASSES.**—1840, 442 puncheons, 350 casks; 1841, 490 puncheons, 14 casks; 1842, 425 puncheons, 126 casks. **RUM.**—1840, 163 hhds., 2,248 puncheons; 1841, 46 hhds., 1,387 puncheons; 1842, 56 hhds., 1,198 puncheons. **COCOA.**—1840, 120 barrels, 1,836 bales; 1841, 264 barrels, 2,044 bales; 1842, 400 barrels, 2,161 bales. **COTTON.**—1840, 383 bales; 1841, 219 bales; 1842, 370 bales.—*St. George's Chronicle*, Dec. 17, 1842.

Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.—(Extract from the speech of the Hon. J. Q. Adams, delivered at Weymouth, Massachusetts, the 17th of September, 1842, on the Annexation of Texas to the Union:—)

"The paragraph in the annual message relating to Texas, was itself sufficiently marked by a longing for the annexation of that republic to this Union. It said, 'the United States cannot but take a deep interest in whatever relates to this young but growing republic. Settled principally by emigrants from the United States, we have the happiness to know that the great principles of civil liberty are there destined to flourish under wise institutions and wholesome laws; and that, through its example, another evidence is to be afforded of the capacity of popular institutions to advance the prosperity, happiness, and permanent glory of the human race. The great truth that government was made for the people, and not the people for government, has already been established by the practice and by the example of these United States, and we can do no other than contemplate its further exemplification by a sister republic, with the deepest interest.'

"Do you think, fellow-citizens, that you are hearing Benjamin Franklin, or John Jay, or some other honest champion and apostle of the rights of man? or is this a flourish, a cruel mockery of language and of truth? One of the wisest institutions of this glorious republic, rooted in her social compact, is *slavery*—hereditary, irredeemable slavery, placed by her Constitution beyond the reach of her Legislature. This is her tribute to the great principles of civil liberty—and I will do her again the justice to say that she is no hypocrite. Her Constitution virtually disclaims all pretension to the great principles of civil liberty. It travesties the self-evident truth of the Declaration of Independence, that *all men* are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, into a mere declaration that all men 'when they form a social compact, have equal rights.' The Constitution of Texas has a blush of decorum, if not of shame.

"Yet deeply as Mr. Tyler has fallen in love with the glorious republic of Texas, he said nothing of the *trading* expedition of certain citizens of the United States against Santé Fé, under the colours of Texas and the commission of President Lamar. This had been organized, armed, equipped and arrayed, by recruits from the United States, openly enlisted in New Orleans and other parts of the Southern States, under the eyes of Mr. Tyler's administration. In anticipation of its success, resolutions were in preparation from the Legislatures of several of the slave-holding States, renewing the old and rejected demand for the annexation of Texas to the United States; and the then confidential herald of Mr. Tyler at New York had already, before the failure of the expedition was known,

obscurely intimated that the measure was to be consummated at the then ensuing session of Congress. The tone of diplomacy and in Congress towards Mexico, became harsh, overbearing, and insulting. Mr. Waddy Thompson, during his whole career in Congress, the most inveterate enemy of Mexico, and the most zealous and intriguing leader of the gag rule party against the right of petition, and for the annexation of Texas to the Union, was substituted for Mr. Powhattan Ellis, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico. The expedition against Santé Fé made a losing trade, and miserably failed. The pedlar heroes of President Lamar, no sooner became Mexican prisoners of war, than they were re-metamorphosed into citizens of the United States, and the cry of war! war! with miscreant Mexico, for the redemption of American citizens from the clutches of the monster Santa Anna, rung from the Rocky Mountains to the Sabine. For a full week the daily report whispered round the House of Representatives was, that a war message against Mexico was coming in from President Tyler; and when the debate on the appropriation for the new minister to Mexico came up, the corporal of the guard openly urged a war, if Santa Anna should refuse to release the trading invaders from the United States, his prisoners of war, or even if he should pursue his declared purpose of attempting to recover by force the revolted territory of Texas to the Mexican confederation. You will remember the eloquent argument of the corporal in the same speech, to convince the northern abolitionists that the annexation of Texas was much for the northern interests, because it would weaken, by scattering, the slave domination, and promote the exportation of the staple article of Virginia domestic manufacture—and you, doubtless, know that such was the devotion of the corporal to his captain, 'Tyler too,' that he was generally believed in the House to occupy the *thinking* department of the captain's administration."

FRANCE.—AFRICA.—The *Commerce* mentions that Admiral Duperre, the Minister of Marine, had prevailed on the Council to authorize the establishment of three factories, placed under the protection of as many forts, on the coast of Guinea—namely, at the Cape of Palms, at the mouth of the river Gabon, and the third near that of another large river at the bottom of the Gulf of Guinea. "Each of these factories," says the *Commerce*, "will consist of sheds and stores destined to receive the goods and merchandise brought by French traders, so that the exchanges may be hereafter carried on with the natives on land, without any apprehension of plunder or fraud. Next to each are to be erected blockhouses, provided with artillery and a small garrison. Commander Bouet, the new governor of Senegal, is to preside at the establishment of these three military and commercial stations."

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—The committee for the abolition of slavery assembled on Wednesday last, in one of the committee-rooms of the Chambers of Deputies. M. de Tracy, one of the vice-presidents of the Abolition Society, presided. The committee examined several documents lately presented to the society. From some official returns, it appeared that the produce of sugar in the island of Jamaica increased in the year 1842 by more than 13,000 hogsheads. One of the members of the committee announced to the meeting, that the Duke de Broglie, President of the Colonial Committee appointed by the Government, had terminated its report upon the emancipation of slavery. This report, which is at present under press, will be submitted to Government, and distributed to the members of the Chambers. It is said that the Duke de Broglie proposes two systems—the one gradual emancipation, with an indemnity; the other absolute emancipation, with immediate indemnity. The meeting was attended by six or seven deputies. Documents were presented relating to the cultivation of sugar in the British West India islands.

BRAZIL.—It is painful to find in the files of Rio papers before us, of whatever party politics, evidence of the most active and hostile disposition towards Great Britain and British commercial interests. In these respects there is no distinction, or but little, betwixt the ministerial and the opposition press. Besides, it must be admitted that, with all their faults, the Brazilian Ministry evinced a disposition rather to curb the intemperate zeal and check the furious diatribes of their own journals against this country after the arrival of Mr. Ellis. This, at least, showed a sense of what was decent and decorous towards a special mission projected in the spirit of sincere friendliness, and designed no less in honour and compliment to the youthful Emperor on his approaching marriage, than to cement the alliance, and to reconstruct, on a sure and reciprocally advantageous basis, the commercial union of the two countries. It may not be forgotten, however, that the Ministry, through the same, their own, press, were the first to raise the war cry against this country, and to lash into still greater exasperation the before sufficiently popular prejudices of the Brazilians, excited by the anti-slavery treaties and policy so rigorously imposed upon and pursued towards them. Thus Senhor Aureliano, the foreign minister, had repeatedly declared in the ministerial journals the intention to consider the treaty of commerce with this country as decisively lapsed by efflux of the period stipulated, according to Brazilian reading of the treaty, on the advent of the 10th of November, 1842, and the unalterable determination neither to consent to its prolongation to the term more equitably assigned to it here by fair construction, nor to enter into or contract a new treaty. And yet, on the 6th of September, after the delivery of sundry energetic notes by Mr. Hamilton Hamilton, the British resident Minister, who gave it plainly to be understood that such rescission or breach of the term of a solemn compact might involve a *casus belli*, the minister is found receding from his before fixed and lofty resolves, and consenting that the treaty shall stand good, according to its real purport, till the year 1844. Such a retraction and concession naturally furnished arms to the opposition press against himself, as well as this country, of which it did not fail to avail itself to the utmost extent. Its virulence was without bounds. In the *Diario*, Senhor Aureliano is stigmatised for the act either as a "traitor to his country" or "miserably weak and an incapable minister." Great Britain is represented as the "vampire nation" (*nacio vampiro*); "war, then, war to English manufactures," furiously vociferates the *Sentinella da Monarchia*; and, referring to the augmentation of the British naval forces on the coasts of Brazil since 1841, for the purpose of more effectual

repression of the slave trade, with the fact almost contemporaneous that the emigration and introduction of free labourers from the coast of Africa to the West Indies was legalised here, the same journal adds, by these documents (certain despatches of Mr. Hamilton and Lord Aberdeen which are cited) "the intent of the British Government is more clearly made manifest to put an end to our commerce and labour, and thus reduce Brazil to misery. Already it is known that the English are permitted to have African colonists—and also the thought of the *pirate government* (*governo pirata*) that, within a few years, the cotton, coffee, sugar, &c. of the English colonies shall alone be consumed in Europe; England rules the whole world." This is the sort of vituperation poured out against England day by day in the Brazilian press of nearly all classes of opinion, and by whole columns of the sheet, and the passages cited are not selections of the most extreme examples, but are taken indiscriminately from the heap of papers lying before us.—*Morning Herald*, Jan. 24.

Miscellanea.

NELSON HACKET.—We have ascertained from one of the senators of the State of Arkansas, through a friend at Washington, that Nelson Hacket, the fugitive slave who was given up by Sir Charles Bagot, the Governor-General of Canada, was taken to Arkansas—there tried for stealing—publicly whipped—then delivered to his master, by whom he has since been sold to somebody in Texas.—*A. & F. A. S. Reporter*, Jan. 1.

LOOK AT THIS!—James Boyle, of Ohio, gives the following statistics of *Christian* denominational slaveholding in this country:—

Methodists (Episcopal) own	80,000 slaves.
Baptists	125,000 "
Presbyterians (both schools)	70,000 "
Episcopalians	80,000 "
Campbellites	100,000 "

Smaller denominations in proportion, making in all 450,000 human beings owned by professing Christians as slaves, and subject to all the liabilities of property.

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN OHIO.—The Ohio House of Representatives, by a vote of 46 to 24, have passed a bill to repeal the law in relation to fugitive slaves. This law, as one of the members stated, was passed at the instance of the State of Kentucky, in order to facilitate the recovery of fugitive slaves.—*Essex Transcript*.

NEW CRUELITIES.—An individual, whose name must not for obvious reasons be disclosed, gives the following account of a new mode of torture, devised within the last four years at the South, for runaway slaves. The poor creature who is to be made an example of, to deter the rest from taking their freedom, is compelled to kneel upon a bar of wood, to each end of which a rope is attached. These ropes being crossed over the sufferer's shoulders, are then drawn tightly, so as to bring the breast and knees together, and the whole person, as nearly as possible, into the shape of a ball. The process of scourging then commences, and is continued till the chance of ultimate recovery is small indeed. The slave law admits that a slave may "die under moderate correction," and the master finds it good policy to kill one by inches, (to use the phrase of James B. Gray,) if the rest may be thereby deterred from escape. The preparatory compression is of itself exquisite torture, and this close packing of the limbs occasions a single stroke of the whip to take effect at once on the sides, arms, and legs. When one side is completely cut up, the victim is turned over on the other, and thus scourged till vengeance and cupidity are satiated. "The fugitive slaves doubtless tell you," pursues our informant, "much of what they suffer, but one thing they can never tell, (for they do not live to tell it,) and that is, the treatment they receive after they are carried back from among you. I verily think God could more readily forgive me for the murder of one of my fellow-creatures, than for betraying them back to such a fate as this. Mere killing would be mercy in the comparison."—*Emancipator*, Dec. 22.

The giving of the law at Sinai, immediately preceded the promulgation of that body of laws called the "Mosaic system." Over the gateway of that system, fearful words were written by the finger of God—"He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." The oppression of the Israelites in Egypt, and the wonders wrought for their deliverance, proclaimed the reason for such a law at such a time. They had just been emancipated. The tragedies of their house of bondage were the realities of yesterday, and peopled their memories with thronging horrors. They had just witnessed God's testimony against oppression in the plagues of Egypt—the burning blains on man and beast—the dust quickened into loathsome life, and swarming upon every living thing—the streets, the palaces, the temples, and every house, heaped up with things abhorred—the kneading troughs and ovens, the secret chambers and the couches reeking and dissolving with the putrid death—the pestilence walking in darkness at noon-day—the devouring locusts, and hail mingled with fire—the first-born death struck, and the waters blood; and last of all, that dread high hand and stretched-out arm, that whelmed the monarch and his hosts, and strewed their corpses on the sea. All this their eyes had looked upon; earth's proudest city, wasted and thunder-scarred, lying in desolation, and the doom of oppressors traced on her ruins in the handwriting of God, glaring in letters of fire mingled with blood—a blackened monument of wrath to the uttermost against the stealers of men. No wonder that God, in a code of laws prepared for such a people at such a time, should up-rear on its foreground a blazing beacon to flash terror on slaveholders—"He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death."—*Weld*.

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